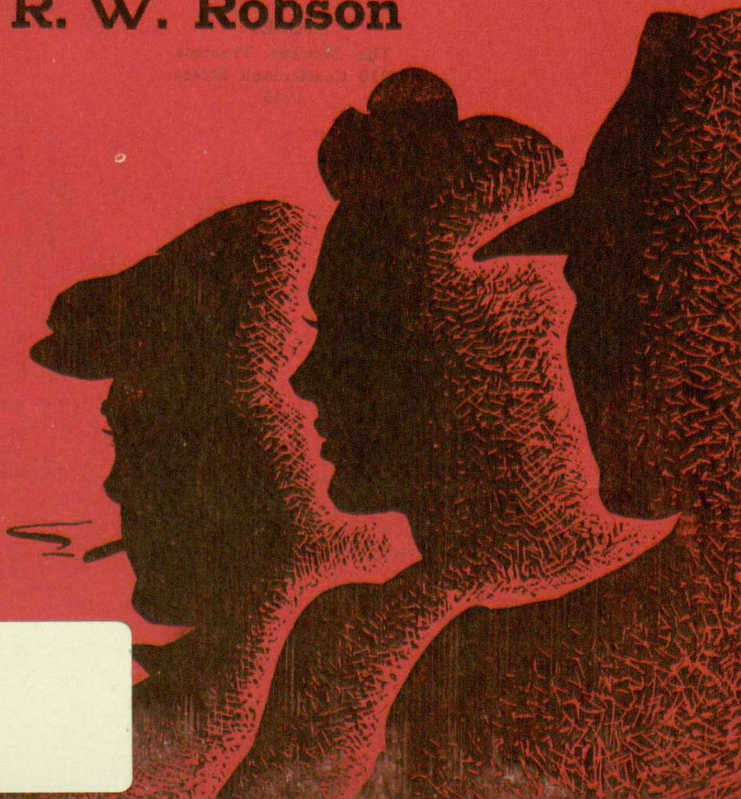


Communism

An Outline
for Everyone

By R. W. Robson

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An Outline for Everyone

by R. W. Robson

Published by
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Sydney: June, 1943

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FOREWORD.

This excellent booklet was written by a prominent member of the British Communist Party in 1942. Its concluding section about the British Communist Party applies equally to the Australian Communist Party.

Our Party is also rapidly growing in strength and influence. It, too, was formed in 1920, and like our brother Party in Britain has since fought consistently for the interests of the working class and of Democracy.

It organised Australians to fight in the International Brigade, and the names of Morecom, Young, Barry and Baynham, whose bodies were laid to rest beneath the olive groves in the rich Spanish earth, are a source of great pride to us.

To-day we are fighting for a bigger and better war effort to achieve the quickest possible victory over the Fascist Axis, and those of our members who have taken up arms in the Australian Armies, Navy and and Air Force in order that freedom might live are carrying forward the brave traditions that were established by their Party comrades in Spain.

S. PURDY.

February, 1943.

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COMMUNISM

An Outline for Everyone.

THE war has fundamentally changed the world as we knew it up to 1939. Many of those changes have come to stay—and many more, and even bigger ones, are still ahead.

What is happening, and how the future course of our lives will be affected is of vital interest and importance to all of us. Never before were so many people reading and studying political questions, anxious to understand how they may play a really effective part in shaping and building a new and better world. But in order to do this a knowledge of the causes of our political and social problems is essential. Just as the construction of a good dwelling house demands the services of an architect, whose knowledge of the various requirements has been obtained by study and experience, so the problem of the structure of society, of how to adjust its forms better to meet men's needs, requires an understanding of the science of politics and economics.

Communism in this science. It enables anyone of average intelligence to obtain a clear and definite solution to the problem of the future of humanity; but in order that its standpoint may be developed intelligently, a brief reference to early Socialist ideas is desirable.

Early Socialism: Robert Owen.

When Socialist ideas were first put forward a hundred and fifty years ago they were mainly expressed in criticisms

of the existing state of society, and from a generous desire to improve conditions for everyone, with vague hopes regarding the best way to bring this about.

One of the outstanding Socialists of that time was Robert Owen, whose efforts to improve the conditions of his own



ROBERT OWEN

workpeople gained him for a time the praise of people in other countries as well as in Britain. Owen established a model "Communist colony" at the New Lanark Mills in Scotland in 1800, being convinced that its success would result in a wide conversion to his views. His workpeople there enjoyed excellent conditions in comparison with those of other mills, and the population grew to include 2500 people. Their hours were much shorter than elsewhere. During an enforced suspension of work lasting four months owing to a cotton crisis, his workers were paid full wages. He invented Infant Schools and introduced them for the first time,

and raised the general standard of the people he employed considerably. Yet the place paid large dividends and was a paying proposition for nearly thirty years. But Owen failed to get converts for Socialist ideas; he was applauded, but no one followed his example.

Owen saw, without understanding why, that the source of wealth came from labour. He felt that his methods had failed to give dignity to labour. "Those people were my slaves," he would say. In a memorial addressed among others to "Queen Victoria and her Councillors" in 1848, Owen said, regarding the question of wealth production: "Without this new wealth, produced by machinery, the wars directed to the overthrow of Napoleon and the maintenance of the aristocratic principles of society could not have been carried on; and this new power was the product of the working class."

Owen continued with his endeavours to form model colonies, etc., as a practical means of helping to solve the problems of poverty and a means of social reform, but as his views developed he was ostracised, boycotted by the press, and impoverished by his activities.

Socialism was a superior ideal, but that was all; it had as yet no sound theoretical or scientific justification for its claims, nor was there any working-class organisation as yet to give Socialism a basis among the people.

Socialism Becomes a Science.

In the early eighteen-forties, Karl Marx, an active Socialist exiled from Germany for his work there, where he had been the editor of a newspaper of advanced political views, embarked upon a thorough study and examination of the economic basis of capitalism and of the laws which control the evolution of society.

Marx found in abundant measure in England all the material for his political studies and activities. Britain was then the most advanced country of the new industrial age. Well educated, and having a sound knowledge of philosophy and economics, Marx was excellently equipped for the task he had set himself.

He showed that human society develops and changes, new forms of social systems growing to replace the old and outworn ones; that previous and more primitive forms of social systems had been displaced, often violently and to the accompaniment of much confusion and suffering, by new societies based on superior methods of producing wealth. He showed that as the slave-owning system of Rome had been displaced by the feudal society of the Middle Ages, so the machine and factory society—capitalism—had displaced feudalism because of its superior productive power, developing, wrote Marx, "More powerful and colossal productive forces than all past generations together." Nevertheless, the strain of contradictory forces within capitalist society was already reaching dimensions which demanded solution. That solution would and could only be achieved when in turn private ownership

of production, distribution and exchange gave place to a higher form of human society—Communism.

Throughout the rest of his life Marx continued to improve and develop his theories in collaboration with his friend Frederick Engels, who was engaged in the cotton industry in Lancashire. Marx's work covers the whole field of politics, economics and social affairs and has made Socialism a science applicable to the whole domain of human affairs.

Marx thus rescued Socialism from those who, no matter how good their personal intentions, made their Socialist ideas out of their own opinions of what was good or bad in our social system. Socialism ceased to be based on what this or that individual imagined it ought to be, or a collection of brands of Socialism which revolved round ideals invented by various individuals. Marx made Socialism the business of the working class.

In Britain the vague loose "Socialism" which Marx exposed as fallacious continues as a mixture of ideas as to what would be "better" or "fairer all round." Some so-called "leading Socialists" have thereby been able to make the best of both worlds, talking about Socialism, painting a bright picture of what it will mean for everyone, remaining their own judges as to what it all means, and insisting that they are the only people able to decide how this fine state of affairs will come about.

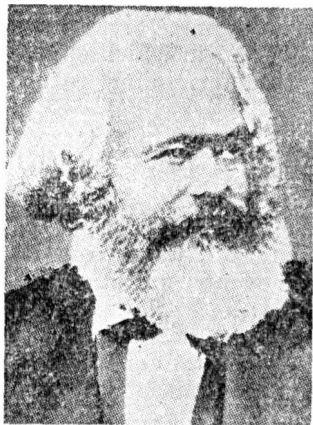
This is why Communists devote much attention to Marx's great work; it makes the achievement of Socialism the business of the ordinary people, something which can only be achieved by the active help of all of us; the destined victory of those who work for a living and have as yet little or no say in the direction of political affairs. Marx gave to men the science for becoming masters of their destiny.

Dialectical Materialism.

"Man know thyself," from one of Pope's poems, is familiar to most people, but before man can know himself he must know his environment, the things which surround him

in his daily life and which affect him physically and influence his way of thinking.

The early Socialist thinkers were materialists; they regarded man as a product of nature, ruled by the laws of nature and as dependent on them for his existence as all other forms of life. Their philosophy, their way of thinking about questions, was therefore materialist. Marx was a materialist. He had studied under the foremost philosophers of his time and was keenly interested in philosophy. He knew that Socialism is a method of organising man's way of living, and that Socialists must have an understanding of man's relationship to nature and to his fellowmen, and of the practical reasons for man's activities and ideas.



KARL MARX

Marx developed the philosophy known as Dialectical Materialism as the key to understanding man's relationship to nature and of men's social and political relations with each other.

In spite of its name, Dialectical Materialism is not so difficult to understand as anyone unfamiliar with it might think. It is a most profound philosophy, however, and here we can only indicate its main outlines. "Dialectic" comes from a Greek word for a method of discussing and examining questions, which by repeated

questions and answers brought out every aspect of the thing discussed and its relation to other things. As applied to Marxists, the dialectical method of examining things, in order to determine the correct action to take about them, is based on the following principles, which Marxists consider apply throughout nature (including human society) :—

- (1) Actual events are always seen in a particular setting, and their character is different if the setting is different.

- (2) Everything is constantly changing—developing or declining (for instance, as a flower buds, opens, and begins to fade).
- (3) The change goes gradually for a time, and then there is “revolutionary break” which gives the thing a new development. (The fading flower becomes a seed pod, to continue the previous analogy).
- (4) The development of things is due to the conflict of opposing tendencies; the “revolutionary break” is the victory of the progressive tendency over the old conservative tendency.

Dialectical Materialism views society as the result of a long evolutionary process in which contending forces have played a part in opposition to each other, and in which opposing forces continue to play a part—determining future developments.

Historical Materialism.

In its application to history, Dialectical Materialism led to the “Materialist Conception of History,” which reveals that history, the record of the political events and struggles of the past, does not at all revolve round the exploits of this or that great man; that human destiny is not decided merely by the caprices, faults or virtues of some individual king, general or statesman, but results from a clash of political interests representing the conflicting economic forces within an existing system of society.

This approach to history enables us to understand that the decline and collapse of the Roman Empire was due to economic causes and was the political consequence of these.

The growth of the great estates of the wealthy upon which cheap slave labour was employed gradually bankrupted the plebeian Roman and ruined him, thus creating a propertyless, landless proletariat,* which lived on doles of free grain from the conquered provinces. The virile and free barbarian peoples ultimately became stronger than Rome, enfeebled and

* Proletariat—Without property.

demoralised by slave revolts and class conflicts and by the weakening of its authority in the conquered provinces of the Empire.

The feudal society which replaced the Roman Empire and grew up out of its collapse was based on ownership of the land, and of the lives and produce of those who cultivated the soil. The laws, the justice and the political organisation of feudalism inevitably arose out of the needs of the feudal lords to maintain their privileges and their rule over the serfs whose toil maintained feudal society. Armourers, smiths, carpenters, stonemasons, and specialised workmen employed in the service of feudal barons grouped together around the feudal castles, and after a while created small townships which developed primitive trade relations based on an exchange of agriculture products and handicraft goods; thus leading through the generations to the growth of independent towns often favoured by the kings in their frequent conflicts with the larger barons and becoming ever more powerful against both baron and king.

With the growth of trade at home and across Europe with Asia Minor, wealthy merchants, enterprising men, became impatient of the barons' privileged rule and the laws which maintained it and handicapped the extension of merchant trade. Gradually this new class, the town merchants, became strong enough to challenge the barons, to defy them and ultimately to overthrow them and establish a new society in which the merchant and manufacturer became dominant. Thus there developed the rule of the new class of capitalists—individual owners of the developing machinery for making goods by privately-owned industry, which in turn brought a new type of person into history, the propertyless wage-worker, entirely dependent upon his ability to obtain work in order to secure a wage whereby to live.

During the Civil War between the Stuart kings and the Parliamentarians of the seventeenth century in England, the conflict of economic interests at the root of the struggle was covered by the use of religious expressions. Historical materialism sees the religious rallying cries as symbols of, but not as the real cause of, the conflict.

The Stuarts maintained their "Divine" right to rule the country without check or interference from the wealthy merchants of the towns and the yeoman farmers of the countryside. They were endeavouring to hold on to the authority which in feudal times was centralised in the King. The feudal barons had vanished; their cause was already lost economically—the merchants and tradesmen of the towns wanted trade to expand within the country and with other lands. They objected to taxation for maintaining a State power which despised trade and commerce and wasted wealth on the whims of the Court. They rejected the doctrine of the King's Divine right to rule as he wished, because they had become strong enough numerically and economically to challenge it politically.

The King and his adherents quoted scripture and religious Doctrine (propaganda) to maintain their cause; the merchants and tradesmen, who in general refused to subscribe to the feudal conceptions of the Roman Catholic Church, countered by raising the banner of militant Protestantism and Parliamentary control of the State apparatus, in their class interests.

History Is Politics.

Although the great changes and transition from one society to another which have marked history hitherto brought suffering to many and injustices and injury to the mass of the people from time to time in the conflicts which marked their course, each new development was in line with human progress, each represented a great step forward for humanity generally, finally resulting in the stage being reached at which mankind can produce abundantly and easily in great variety all that is needed for a full and happy life for everyone.

The human race has now left behind it the days of natural scarcity and famine, of limited food supplies and primitive ways of living. But the forces of history are as urgent and powerful as ever. They have once more reached the point at which decisive changes must be made. Man cannot stand still, his own achievements will not allow him to do so, a new problem faces him—the problem of how to control the power of the gigantic wealth-producing machinery which men have created, but which is owned by a privileged and selfish few.

Capitalism has solved the problem of how to produce abundance for all needs, but the greed and self-seeking of the tiny minority who own and manipulate the sources of wealth and power in their own private interests have in modern days led to frequent, almost continuous wars, culminating in the present appalling conflict.

Communists believe, on their understanding of the lessons of past history and of the forces which bring about political changes in society, that a new economic and social system must and will replace the present capitalist order of society, the serious defects of which are increasingly evident to all.

The Economics of Marxism.

Marx made economics live. His study of wealth production, the making of goods, of their distribution and marketing, and of the system of exchange, goes to the very root of the problem of man's existence. For our social order and our ways of living are shaped, and our welfare or lack of it are dependent on all these things.

Marx's great work "Capital" was the result of many years of expert research and careful and thorough study; it is world-famous, and has been translated into every important language.

Marx showed that under capitalism there are essentially only two classes:—the one, a small section of society owning, to all intents, all the land, factories, industries, banking institutions and means of transport, etc., which go to maintain the complex economic and social system under which we live; the other, the vast majority of the people, depending entirely on obtaining employment as a means of earning a wage or salary in order to live.

Marx also showed that the early type of capitalist firm, consisting of individual owners usually managing and supervising their own enterprises, must develop and was developing into larger combinations of shareholders controlling, through salaried managers and administrators, the large companies dominating modern industry. He showed that the method of

production and marketing goods under capitalism leads to periodic gluts called "over-production" (while millions are short of necessities) and economic crises.

He showed that unemployment, unknown in the feudal and slave-owning societies, had become a permanent feature of life under capitalism, and that the struggle between rival capitalist states for markets for their goods and for colonies in which to invest their surplus profits is the root cause of modern wars.

What is the Source of Profit?

The greatest achievement of Marx in the field of political economy was his discovery of the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The foundation of capitalism is the employment of wage-workers to produce goods for marketing, i.e., for exchanging goods for money. On what basis, Marx asks, are goods exchanged—what fixes their exchange value? There is only one thing common to all goods, which makes it possible for them to be measured against each other in exchange: they are all products of human labour, and **their value is determined by the amount of labour that has gone into their making.** Not, of course, the amount of labour in each separate article, which will vary according to the skill and energy of the worker that made it and the efficiency of the machinery he uses. But, as Marx put it, the exchange value of an article depends on the average amount of labour, the "socially necessary" labour time required to produce articles of that kind.

In capitalist society, labour power, like any other commodity, is bought and sold for money wages. What fixes the value of this labour power? The "socially necessary" labour time required to produce the labour power, i.e., required to produce the food, clothes, etc., needed by the worker and his family to keep his labour power intact and renew it. The worker therefore exchanges his labour power for its equivalent in terms of wages.

But whereas the labour time required to provide his needs is equivalent to only a few hours a day, the employer makes it a condition of employment that he shall work longer. Part of the day he is working for himself, to produce the equivalent value of his labour power; the rest of the day he is working for his employer's sake, producing value which is surplus to his own needs, "surplus value." This is the source of profit and of the income of the capitalist class in general, whatever form it may finally take—rent, interest, profit, director's fees, high managerial salaries, and so on.

The Class Struggle.

Marx did not "invent" the conflict of the classes which his analysis showed to be a feature of property-owning society. He showed the economic causes of the conflict and demonstrated that it was inevitable between capitalist and worker because of their opposite interests. Marx also made it plain that the political clash of the classes was a factor making for progress in the evolution of human society.

The ownership and control of the wealth-producing resources of the country are combined with the control of its policy and state apparatus. Without the latter the capitalist class rule could not be maintained.

Marxists take the view that it is unreasonable and foolish to think that those who dominate society will agree to carry out fundamental changes which would result in weakening their control and must deprive them of their privileged position. How much less can the capitalist class be expected to give up their wealth and power, and bring in Socialism!

The other section of capitalist society is the numerically strong working class, who have learnt a social discipline by their work together in industry, where each worker co-operates with the others, playing his or her part in the complex process of production. Working-class people know that social unity is necessary; they have learnt to organise Trade Unions in defence of their everyday interests against those of the em-

ployers; they have built up a great Co-operative Movement in the interests of the consumers.

Socialism meets the economic interests of the working class, and is opposed to those of the capitalists. All their experience of life and of the way in which they get their living fits the working class for the co-operative methods of Socialist society, while capitalists, from their training in life as well as their means of living, are self-seeking individuals. The qualities of the working class created by its class interests and class experience give it the capacity of unhesitatingly and enthusiastically building a Socialist Society.



FREDERICK ENGELS

(Collaborator and friend of
Karl Marx)

What of the "Middle Class"? it may be asked. "Is this not a third and very important class in modern society?"

The "Middle Class" can and will play a very important part in the achievement of Socialism; their interests are in this respect the same as those of the working class.

The professions, the arts and the sciences, the farmers and shopkeepers, all suffer to a greater or lesser extent under the capitalist system, in which everything is restricted and hedged about by the profit-making factor, giving no general security either economically or socially. Some individual middle-class people

secure a measure of personal independence, but they are exceptions to the general rule.

When service to society replaces private profit, the professions and the arts will be freed from the petty shifts and limitations which capitalism imposes on them.

Relieved of the burden of rent to the owner of land, helped to purchase machinery and implements easily and at cost, aided by the development of a knowledge of agricultural science and technique, the farmer will make an honoured contribution to the general welfare of a free society under Socialism.

Combines and vested interests will give place to planned and scientific service to society, in the organisation of which the experience and specialised training of the shopkeeper will be of the greatest value.

Many middle-class people understand this; more and more are realising that their future, their ability to develop fully and freely the use of their technical and artistic abilities, makes them the allies of the great working class for the realisation of Socialism.

Socialism and Communism.

Some people are confused about the distinction which is made between Socialism and Communism, believing them to be the same thing, except that Communism is more "Extreme."

The difference is political and is based on the economic advance which Socialism will make possible, enabling mankind to go forward to Communism.

Socialism is a stage of society in which capitalism has ceased to exist, when men may no longer exploit the labour of their fellow men, and each by his work contributes to the well-being of all. Under Socialism a state apparatus is still needed to organise society's activities; it is controlled completely by those who work. Certain differences will still exist in the living standards of the people, those whose services contribute more to the general welfare of society being allocated a higher standard than others.

Communism is a higher stage of society, an advance on Socialism. It will become possible by the success of Socialism, which will increase wealth production sufficiently to enable all material and cultural needs to be satisfied.

Under Communism work will not be irksome, but a social responsibility willingly accepted by everyone. Service to the community will be honoured above everything else. People will not only give their services to the welfare of society, they will freely and fully obtain all they need or wish from the wealth which society creates. All the methods of coercion with which we are familiar and for which the state exists will become unnecessary. To some people, whose only idea of happiness is to grab all they can get, this will seem an impossible and even ridiculous state of affairs. Property ideas are ingrained in our thinking because we are used only to the ideas of the private property society in which we live to-day. These ideas will change under Socialism, when service will be honoured and personal greed despised.

Some Prejudices and Misconceptions.

Personal Property.

The childish idea that no kind of property whatever will exist under Socialism has been spread to arouse prejudice when arguments failed to convince.

What has already been said indicates how Marxism views the question. The millionaires have the impudence to pretend that they wish to defend the ordinary man's small personal property as well as their own estates and factories against the "wicked" Socialists. The Socialists don't care what personal effects a man or woman may have in the way of household goods, clothing, a car or bicycle, etc., etc. Nor are they worried about the man who has bought his own home for his own use out of his wages or salary.

Socialism condemns the private ownership of land and houses for the purpose of forcing those who need the use of them to pay an owner before they can have it. It condemns the private ownership of the minerals under the earth, needed for making goods to enable society to exist. It opposes the private ownership of factories and industries which are only allowed to produce the goods we need on condition that the few "owners" are enriched in consequence.

The good things of life are at present the monopoly of a few. Their luxuries and lavish waste of the things that many people work hard to make are evil features of our society.

Communism will make private ownership unnecessary, because all that life can offer will be free for all to share.

Communism and Religion.

As already explained, the philosophy of Marxism, which is the basis of Communist theory, is materialist. Communists have no prejudice against religious beliefs, but they see them as arising out of material conditions and being modified by material changes brought about by economic and social evolution.

Communists respect sincere and honest religious beliefs. Their attitude is authoritatively expressed in a comment by Lenin on the Paris Commune of 1871, in which he quotes Engels' approval of the Commune's principle: "That in relation to the State, religion is simply a private matter."

In the Soviet Union, religion is a private and personal matter for the individual citizen, whose civil rights in this respect are guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

Communism and Pacifism.

Communists are opposed to pacifism, regarding these views as unscientific and harmful to the working class. Communists believe the only way to prevent war is to put an end to its causes by getting rid of the economic and political factors which make war inevitable. Pacifism makes no pretence of opposing the economic causes of war; it simply sidetracks the issue, and makes pacifism a question which stands by itself.

The Pacifist idea that war is caused by "wickedness" or "foolishness" is itself foolish to absurdity. It is as futile to adopt pacifist ideas about opposing war as to refuse to work in a factory because one objects to the private ownership of capital.

The Communist Attitude to Democracy.

In a world in which Dictators have endeavoured to compel us to return to the Dark Ages when feudal conceptions of man's dignity prevailed, the enemies of Communism have tried to create the impression that the Communists believe in Dictatorship, meaning by this, a personal dictatorship or a Party dictatorship.

The contrary is the case.

The Communists have criticised our existing democracy as being too little of a democracy. They have repeatedly made plain their support for the rights which democracy allows the people; in Spain the great proportion of the men who volunteered to fight in the International Brigades for the Spanish Republic against Fascism in 1936 to 1938 were Communists, although the Republican Government was Liberal and Socialist in composition and policy.

In the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party is the dominant political Party, a much greater degree of democracy exists than in any other land. All persons over the age of eighteen (with the exception of those specifically disqualified by a court of law) are empowered to vote and determine their own way of life. The Communists correctly call this a "Dictatorship." It is the dictatorship of the working class, because the workers are the leading force in the country.

But this dictatorship embraces the vast majority, to-day practically the whole of the population. The rights of the Soviet citizen enable him or her to participate in the administration of the country freely and fully, as well as in the making of its laws. There is only one political party because parties represent class interests. And as there are no longer any conflicting classes, in the Soviet Union, there is only one Party, the Communist Party.

In such a State the people have full control. They do not tolerate bureaucracy of the type which flourishes in capitalist state offices. Place-seekers, cliquishness and the rest of these evils are exposed and rooted out if they begin to appear.

Public opinion is organised and alert; it is encouraged by its newspapers to guard against enemies of the public welfare in all spheres of the country's life.

The great A.R.P. movement which sprang up in Britain on the outbreak of the war was a voluntary action of the people, their will to give service to the community. It is one of the best evidences of the social health of the British people. This sort of thing is a regular feature of Soviet life. It is part of their everyday democracy among themselves.

Lenin, Founder of the First Socialist State.

The last war, the Great War of 1914 to 1918, directly led to the collapse of the most corrupt and incompetent of the capitalist states, that of Czarist Russia, and because of the part played in this by the greatest Marxist-Socialist of our time—LENIN—it is appropriate to explain (though only in outline) the great role of Lenin in these events and those which led up to them.

Lenin was one of the leaders of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party during the closing years of last century. He made a deep study of Marx's philosophy and of his political and economic theories, applying them to the struggle for Socialism. He used his understanding of Marxist method to analyse and make plain the political significance of the changes which had occurred since the death of Marx in 1883.

Lenin explained the economic causes and the consequences for the Socialist movement of a new phenomenon in world politics—Imperialism. He showed that the export of goods to foreign markets had given place to the export of capital—machinery for new factories, the construction of railways, etc., etc., and more particularly the making of big loans to the governments of backward or impoverished states. The capitalists of the powerful countries of Western Europe were establishing their control over the economic and political affairs of country after country by these means; the colonies which had formerly been chiefly seen as markets for manufactured goods were increasingly important as sources of raw material, and highly profitable concessions.

Monopoly was becoming the predominant feature of capitalism. Banking shared in the general trend to trustification and with other financial institutions was becoming more and more merged with industrial capital, creating a new dominant section within the capitalist class, Finance Capital.

The struggle for colonies as sources of raw material and points of vantage was becoming acute, and the whole of the undeveloped world was the scene of a struggle (usually kept hidden) between the rival capitalist powers.

Lenin showed that the achievement of Socialism was rapidly becoming a practical question facing the working class with the alternative of new and almost continuous wars and economic crises, as a result of Imperialism, "The last and dying stage," as Lenin called it, "of capitalism."

Lenin also engaged in a fight against those in the Socialist movement who were trying to adapt Socialist principles to the interests of the capitalists, and were more concerned with obtaining some advantage for sectional interests than with the interests of the working class and the cause of Socialism.

Lenin's Party, the Bolsheviks.

Lenin viewed the Party quite differently from most other leading Socialists of his time; he regarded it as the main political instrument by means of which the working class could win the struggle for Socialism. He aimed at a **new kind** of political party, to be the Party of the Working Class, the Marxist organiser of the workers in the struggle to improve their conditions of life, its members devoted to the cause of Socialism, educated in Marx's theories and applying them in action. Lenin called the Party "A unity of wills"; the vanguard of the working class; the most highly organised section of the working class, strongly united and firmly disciplined in its activities.

To achieve this object, Lenin wrote numerous articles explaining his views and countering those which were to the contrary. At a Party Congress in 1903, most of Lenin's views were carried by a majority of delegates. The

minority (in Russian "Mensheviks'") continued to diverge from the decisions arrived at, and became a separate Party. Those who agreed with Lenin and accepted his leadership were called "Bolsheviks." Originally this term was merely the Russian for the "majority"—it has since acquired a great political significance, a meaning very different from that when it was first used. It was because of its significance and the great political tradition that it represented that Lenin proposed, after the Bolshevik Party had become known as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that the word "Bolsheviks" be added in brackets.

Under Lenin's leadership, the Bolshevik Party grew in experience and extended its influence. Theory and practice are inseparable for Marxists; theory applied to practice improves understanding of it, and perfects theory; practice without theory is meaningless. The active work of the Party gave it experience and was the means by which the people

were enabled to understand politics and the role of the Party as the leader, organiser and teacher of the working class in preparation for the day when it would have the power to establish a new Socialist society.



LENIN

Without their Party, the Russian people (who renamed their country the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics after the Revolution) could not have achieved success in their revolt against the old system of society, nor the great triumphs which rapidly made their country prosperous and the Soviet people the most happy in the world.

Stalin, Builder and Defender of Socialism.

After Lenin's death in 1924, when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union appointed Stalin as its leader, many serious

problems remained to be solved by the Party and the people. The Soviet Union was still a poor country in terms of large industry and its agriculture backward. War and foreign intervention did not end until 1920, when the Polish Government made peace with the Soviets. In 1921 a terrible famine partly caused by drought and crop failure, but mainly due to the devastation of the country by foreign intervention, caused great suffering and loss.

Within two or three years, however, the losses caused by the long years of war and famine had been almost made good and the country had recovered from the worst effects.

This made it possible to draw up in 1927 a gigantic plan for the reconstruction of the country for submission to the Soviet people. This was called the First Five-Year Plan. Socialism makes it possible for a people to plan and control the economic development of their country, as the only interest to consider is the common interest; there are no vested interests to placate or to levy profits for themselves.

The Communist Party told the Soviet people what the Plan aimed to achieve—to establish a powerful and up-to-date industry and provide the material and cultural means for a higher standard of life for all. The Plan was discussed throughout the Soviet Union—at factory meetings, in the towns and villages, through the columns of the press. It was for the people themselves to decide. They were the owners of the whole country and its wealth resources; their elected representatives on the Soviets were their trusted delegates to legislate and administer in the peoples' interests.

What had the people of the Soviet Union to decide?

They had to decide whether they should now relax after the long years of struggle to win their right to rule their country themselves—now successful; put off to the future the hard task of building up new industries, etc., and choose instead the small luxuries of life; or sacrifice what luxuries they now enjoyed, work harder, go to schools and colleges to master new technical methods and sacrifice much in order

to carry through the Plan. The working people understood all this very well; they had supreme confidence in their Communist Party and in their strength and ability to succeed, and they enthusiastically decided to go forward with the Plan and to carry it out in FOUR, not five years.

From 1928 the people of the Soviet Union worked hard and made big sacrifices to overcome every difficulty which threatened success. Everything had to be met out of the immediate labour of the people. Small credits obtained abroad helped very little towards paying for the machinery and plant which at that time could only be imported from abroad. No foreign loans were obtained.



JOSEPH STALIN

Outside the Soviet Union the Five-Year Plan was derided. Enemies of Socialism who still remained inside the Soviet Union did all they could to sabotage it and prevent it succeeding, assisted secretly by funds from foreign capitalists. The great economic crisis which began in 1929 did not affect the Soviet Union, but the fall in prices of agricultural commodities which it caused added to the Soviet's difficulties in making purchases abroad. Throughout the whole period Stalin firmly maintained the guidance of the Party and the country along the course they had chosen. He played a great part in helping to solve

all difficulties; his proposals smoothed out the problems arising from the need to train many millions of new workers for industry, for educating tens of thousands of people to be the technicians and administrators of Socialist industry and agriculture. Stalin was the architect, organiser and defender of Socialism in Construction. His great qualities and clear thinking, as well as his devotion to the cause of the

workers and his command of Marxist-Leninist theory, established him as Lenin's successor in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

The success of the First Five-Year Plan gave the Soviet Union the most up-to-date industry and some of the most powerful plants in the world. It rescued agriculture from its age-old drudgery and gave it a Socialist form and the use of machinery on a scale greater than in any other land. The poor and backward peasant had taken the path towards rapidly becoming educated and enlightened. The Collective Farm of Socialism had replaced the old peasant holding.

Agriculture was no longer the servant of the town but its fellow partner in a Socialist society.

The Red Army was now guaranteed the means of securing all the latest weapons and most modern armaments from Soviet industry; it has since shown the world how a great and free people fight for their Socialist Motherland.

A Second Five-Year Plan succeeded the First, bringing improvements in the quality of manufactured goods and strengthening the technique and administration of Soviet Industry. It made available to the people the fruits of their previous sacrifices in a continually increasing improvement of living standards. More and better food, more and better clothing, a higher and higher standard of popular education, a reduction of working hours to eight per day and six in many industries, and a wonderful development of Soviet recreation, culture and art.

The Soviet people became, in Stalin's words, "comfortably off." A Third Plan to strengthen the Soviet economy to the extent of beginning the introduction of Communism has been interrupted by Hitler's savage and treacherous attack. The Soviet people will conquer this enemy as they have every other. They triumphed over all obstacles to achieve Socialism, they will also triumph over those who would destroy it.

Family of Free Peoples.

Czarist Russia was an empire which held millions of people under subjection, destroying their native culture and robbing them of the fruits of their toil. Lenin called it the "Prison house of the peoples."

The Soviet Union abolished all this, it freed the subject peoples and gave them equal rights as partners in the Socialist State. Their language, culture and traditions are encouraged, they govern their lands themselves through their own elected representatives to their Soviets. In addition, they are partners in the All-Union Soviets for the administration of the whole Union. The more developed countries in the Soviet Union give brotherly help as to equals, to those peoples who are less advanced in industry and technique. Each Soviet State has built up a native industry suited to its resources and needs, and in line with the general interests of the Soviet Union as a whole.

The Soviet Union is a great family of free peoples.

Stalin devoted special attention to this problem, following Lenin's example as well as that of Marx, who wrote: "A people cannot itself be free which keeps others enslaved."

Socialism has brought the women of the Soviet Union into full participation in all the affairs of their country as equal partners of men. Every job, every profession is as freely open to women as it is to men, with the same pay, status and responsibilities. In no other country in the world do women play so important a part in the affairs of the country and in its daily life as in the land of the Soviets. The drudgery which work too often imposes under capitalism bears especially heavy on the women of the working class, the parasitism which capitalist ways of life engender is especially developed in the women of the capitalist class. Socialism has made woman the equal and respected partner of man, his comrade

in the life which it makes free and happy and secure for the people.

As for the youth, in what other land have the young people so much care and thought given them? They can freely choose their future place in Socialist society, receiving full maintenance and fees from the State if they show aptitude and go to college and university. Every position in the State is open to the young people; life has meaning and purpose for them—it means unlimited opportunities for their talents, it gives them full and complete security.

In brief outline we have sketched the development of Socialism as an idea, a nobler and loftier idea of how men can order their social life, in which an Englishman, Robert Owen, is one of the great figures.

From being an idea in men's minds, Socialism became a science; this is the great achievement of Marx, whose work was continued by Lenin to the day when Socialism became a reality in 1917, when the Soviets became the ruling power in what had formerly been Russia.

Stalin's great role is shown in his leadership of the Soviet people through the period of Socialist reconstruction of their country's economy to glorious success.

Socialism is not only a nobler idea, not only scientifically correct; **it works better than capitalism.** Owen was an Englishman; Marx and Engels did all their scientific work in England, Socialist science was born here. It has come to fruition in Russia.

In these dark days of world-wide war, our two peoples, British and Russian, are forging new bonds in the common fight to defeat Hitlerism and all that this creed stands for. The science of Socialism which was first worked out a century ago in Britain is now the practice in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The British Communist Party.

In Britain the Communist Party is growing in strength and influence. It has a consistent record as the champion of the interests of the common people since it was formed in 1920. Through the evil days of mass unemployment, of wage cuts, of housing shortage; of betrayal of the peoples by the appeasement policy symbolised by Munich and the murder of the Spanish People's Republic, the British Communist Party threw all its forces into the fight for the interests of the working class and of democracy. It organised the British Battalion of the International Brigade which fought Fascism so gloriously in Spain from 1936 to 1938. It opposed the whole hideous series of betrayals which led up to the present war. It refused to be blinded by Chamberlain's manoeuvres at the outset of the war and the shameful attempts then made behind the scenes to switch the war against the Soviet Union.

It is fighting for a bigger and better war effort to achieve victory as quickly as possible over Hitlerism. The Communist Party is the Party of the working class. There is a welcome in it for every man and woman who desires to bring this war to the most rapid and victorious conclusion, and to make possible a new and glorious epoch for the people of Britain and for all humanity.

What to Read.

New List.

Dialectical and Historical Materialism	- J. Stalin	- 4d.
Wage Labor and Capital	- - - - - Karl Marx	- 6d.
Value, Price and Profit	- - - - - Karl Marx	- 6d.
Foundations of Leninism	- - - - - J. Stalin	- 1/-
The Trade Unions	- - - - - L. Sharkey	- 6d.
Australia Marches On	- - - - - L. Sharkey	- 1/-
Introduction to Marxist Political Economy	- - - -	- 3d.
Work Under Capitalism and Socialism	- A. Leontiev	- 6d.
Teachings of Karl Marx	- - - - - Lenin	- - 9d.
Political Economy (Socialist Theory Series, No. 1)	- - - -	- 4d.

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